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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XIII

OCTOBER, 1920

NUMBER 4

THE EARLIEST MINOR ACCOUNTS OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION

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The story of the voyage of the Mayflower in 1620 and of the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth has been told again and again, and in this year of the tercentenary celebration will be repeated in still further varying forms; but we are certain that it will never be more graphically narrated than by the Pilgrims themselves and their friends during the twenties, thirties, and forties of the seventeenth century.

In this paper I do not intend to venture to give any new version of that narrative. It is my purpose rather to recall certain phases of the story as they appear in the vigorous and terse English of the earliest accounts, and to note especially also the interesting archæological information concerning the Indians of New England which they furnish.

In recent years Governor Bradford's monumental *History of Plimoth Plantation* has overshadowed these minor accounts, and this is quite understandable, owing to its undoubted value, its comparatively recent recovery, and its publication in several editions. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the *History* has superseded the more fragmentary literature. Quite the contrary is the case, for that work was only commenced in 1630 and was

written with an entirely different purpose in view. Consequently it lacks much of the freshness and detail of the first contemporary narratives, though it also occasionally supplements them with other facts of considerable interest. Sometimes, however, Bradford in the *History* abbreviates, alters, or even passes over in silence incidents or details which at the time of the arrival of the Pilgrims seemed interesting, if not important.

In reintroducing the subject of the early Pilgrim literature I shall consider almost entirely certain documents published in 1622 under the title of *A Relation or Iovrnall*, and Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England* issued in 1624. Brief reference will also be made to John Pory's *Description of Plymouth Colony* of 1622, to Captain John Smith's *Advertisements* of 1631, to William Wood's [Sir William Alexander's?] *New Englands Prospect* of 1636, and to Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* of 1637.

It may be doubted if there is any early document relating to the Pilgrims equal in vivacity and graphic power to John Pory's *Description* of 1622. Pory was a friend of Governor Bradford and one of the best letter-writers of his time; and his quaint and delightful account of Plymouth gives a picture of the infant colony and its neighborhood and of the life there in those early days such as no other known writer of the period has left behind. An occasional touch of humor adds to its readability. The document as a whole furnishes us with the earliest description of Plymouth of any extent which still exists in a contemporary manuscript, and with information on various historical points little or not otherwise known, and clears up one matter which has proved a puzzle to historians and editors for two and a half centuries.¹

¹ I refer to the word Angoum or Anguam, which is here shown to stand for Anquam (Annisquam) on Cape Ann, and not for Agawam (Ipswich), as heretofore supposed.

As Pory's narrative has recently been published in full,² the following extract will suffice here, and will give some idea of the breezy manner in which this debonair adventurer noted his impressions of the new colony and its neighborhood:

"Oysters there are none, but at Massachusett some 20 miles to the north of this place there are such huge ones by salvages report, as I am loth to report. For ordinarie ones, of which there be manie, they make to be as broad as a bushell, but one among the rest they compared to the greate cabbinn of the Discoverie, and being sober and well advised persons, grew verie angrie when they were laughed at or not beleevved! I would haue had Captaine Jones to haue tried out the truth of this report, and what was the reason? If, said I, the oysters be soe greate and haue anie pearles in them, then must the pearles be answerable in greatnes to the oysters, and proving round and orient also, would farre exceed all other jewells in the world! Yea, what strange and pretious things might be found in so rare a creature! But Captaine Jones his imploying his pinnace in discoveries, his graueing of the ship, his hast away about other occasions and busines, would not permit him to doe that which often since he wished he could haue done."

The earliest experiences of the Pilgrim Fathers after their eventful voyage across the Atlantic are first recorded in the previously mentioned *Relation or Iovrnall*, 1622, and Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England*, 1624. In America for many years the *Relation or Iovrnall* has been erroneously styled *Mourt's Relation*. Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter was, no doubt, chiefly responsible for perpetuating the title, but recent writers occasionally employ it, in spite of the fact that for more than fifty years scholars have justly suspected and stated, though without perfectly satisfactory evidence in the first instance, that Governor William Bradford and Edward Winslow were the true authors respectively of the two separate Relations really included in that work. Until the publication of Professor Edward Arber's *Story*

² Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918.

of the *Pilgrim Fathers* in 1897, indeed, definite proof was wanting to show that Bradford had ever written such a *Relation*. Twenty years and more, however, have gone by since then, and yet our historians and editors are still referring to *Mourt's Relation*.

On pages 506 and 507 of Arber's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* will be found the following complaint, of the date 1622,³ the contents of which when taken in connection with certain well known facts prove that the first (and only real) *Relation* published concerning the Pilgrims in 1622 was written by Bradford, and that there is no reason whatever for attaching to it the name of an unknown person of the period called "Mourt":⁴

"THE COMPLAINT OF CERTAIN ADVENTURERS AND INHABITANTS
OF THE PLANTATION IN NEW ENGLAND

Sheweth

That a ship belonging to them, named the *Fortune*, of the burden of between 40 and 50 tons or thereabouts, being upon their way homeward, and near the English coast, some eight leagues off Use, called by the Frenchmen Ile d'Use [= Yeu, off the coast of Poitou], was, the 19th of January last [1622], assailed and taken by a French Man-of-War, the Captain whereof was called FONTENAU DE PENNART *de Brittannie* [*Bretagne*]; and carried to the Isle of Use.

³ Mr. Worthington C. Ford reproduces this document in full in his Massachusetts Historical Society edition of Bradford's History (I, 268, 269), but fails to draw the obvious conclusion, and (I, 177, note 6) speaks of "Mourt" and of the "authors of the *Relation*."

⁴ Consequently, a historical blunder has been made in calling this work Mourt's *Relation*. In the first place, Mourt is a ghost-name, since it never existed except by mistake. In the original printed edition the name stands as "Mourt.", the period at the end naturally indicating an abbreviation by suspension, as well as the conclusion of the preface. The name "Mourton," "Murton," or "Morton" (compare the similar phonetic spellings Crumwell and Cromwell) is manifestly intended, but there is nothing to prove that George Morton wrote much more than the preface. In the second place, according to the printed title-page, the work known as Mourt's *Relation* contains not one *Relation* but two *Relations*, the second chiefly composed, it would appear, of letters or parts of letters written by Edward Winslow. In the third place, we have the best of reasons, both from internal evidence and from the definite statement in the complaint just mentioned, that the first *Relation* was written by Governor Bradford, or perhaps we might say more accurately, was compiled by him from his own observations and possibly the narrative of some eye-witness of occasional events not noted by himself.

That FONTENAU presented the ship, and company thereof, being 13 persons, as prisoners to Monsieur le Marquis DE CERA, Governor of the Isle. . . . That thereupon Monsieur DE CERA kept THOMAS BARTON, Master of the ship, seven days, close prisoner in his Castle, and the rest of the company under guard; and commanded his soldiers to pillage them. . . . That he sent for all their letters, [and] opened and kept what he pleased; especially, though he was much intreated to the contrary, a letter written by [WILLIAM BRADFORD] the Governor of our Colony in New England, containing a general Relation of all matters there.”⁵

Accordingly, we know definitely that about 1621-22, Bradford did write “a general Relation of all matters” pertaining to the colony at Plymouth; that it was carried to Europe in the *Fortune*, which on January 19-29, 1621-22, was captured by a French war vessel and taken to the Isle of Yeu, off the coast of Poitou; that here the ship-master and all on board were kept prisoners for some days.

To supplement this document, we may add a statement from Mr. Ford's edition of Bradford's *History* (I, 178), namely, that *Mourt's Relation* “was carried to England by Robert Cushman, who, sailing in the *Fortune*, did not reach London till February, 1622”; and that on June 29, 1622, the *Relation* was entered in the Stationers' Register under the title, *Newes from newe England*. Elsewhere (I, 268), in the same edition of the *History* Bradford further gives a letter from Cushman, in which he says that the vessel was kept in France for fifteen days, and that he and his fellow-passengers did not reach home until February 17-27, 1621-22.

Thus we obtain the final link in the chain of evidence which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the first section of *Mourt's Relation* is really Bradford's Relation, for two distinct Relations treating of exactly the same matters would hardly have been carried from Plymouth

⁵ S. P. Colonial, Vol. V, No. 112, E. Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1897, pp. 506, 507.

on the same vessel at one time, one of them by Governor Bradford and the other by an entirely unknown person bearing the ghost-name "Mourt"; and furthermore in case there had by any chance been two such Relations and one of them by Bradford, it is certain that Cushman would have carried that by the Governor and not that by the utterly unknown "Mourt." The same evidence makes it also probable that after the manuscript had been taken away, and very likely some time between February, 1621-22 and June 29, 1622, the first Relation was returned to Cushman or at least sent on to England as the outcome of the Complaint which had been issued. Thus we obtain a better understanding of the wanderings of the manuscript of Bradford's earliest description of the settlement at Plymouth.

The second so-called Relation printed with that by Bradford, as I have previously indicated in a note, is made up chiefly of letters or parts of letters by Winslow, and consequently was also not composed by "Mourt," though in England Morton may perhaps have added the headings to the several sections and may have given the extended title to the book when it was sent to the press.

Unless we are mistaken, the first *Relation or Iovrnall* gains a new historical value by our present definite knowledge that it was certainly written by Governor Bradford himself. Well might Professor Arber, who by the way did not believe that the original document by Bradford had really survived, and who concluded by a rather bad process of reasoning ⁶ that Edward Winslow was the probable author of the first Relation as printed, assert with much feeling, that "Posterity will always owe a grudge to this noble thief [Monsieur le Marquis de Cera] for his robbery of Governor Bradford's despatch, unless it should happily

⁶ Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1897, p. 416, note. If Winslow, or any other Pilgrim besides Bradford, had been the author, he would have written "Master William Bradford," not simply "William Bradford."

be recovered from among the existing French archives; and then posterity would bless him forever";⁷ and that "Doubtless, the Marquis kept it in order to send it up to the Court at Paris"! But in this opinion Dr. Arber was certainly wrong, unless indeed the document was sent back from Paris before June 29, 1622.

The Pilgrim Fathers upon their arrival on American shores were very much interested in their natural surroundings and in the neighboring Indians, and fortunately were very keen observers and reporters of the primitive objects and strange customs which they saw. Perhaps, indeed, they might not inappropriately be called the first archæologists of New England, and some of the details noted by them are of value even today. For convenience, I have grouped the subjects treated in this early literature to which I wish to call attention under three main headings, namely, I, The Story of the Voyage and of the Pilgrims' Choice of a Site for their Settlement; II, The Earliest Descriptions of Plymouth Plantation and an Account of its Gradual Fortification; and III, The Pilgrims and the Indians.

I. THE STORY OF THE VOYAGE AND OF THE PILGRIMS' CHOICE OF A SITE FOR THEIR SETTLEMENT

Bradford's *Relation or Iovrnall*⁸ opens with the following familiar but informing account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod and of their search for a suitable site upon which to found their settlement. The description, though wanting the literary charm of a writer like John Pory, is straightforward and graphic, and gives

⁷ Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 507, note. Winslow's letter [the second so-called Relation] and Bradford's Relation were no doubt both published without the consent of their respective authors, but that fact would not prove that these were not the genuine and original accounts.

⁸ This rare and valuable work as published bore the following title: A | RELATION OR | Iournall of the beginning and proceedings | of the English Plantation settled at *Plimoth* in NEW | ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both | Merchants and

some archæological details of real interest. For instance, in one place mention is made of the fact that the Pilgrims found in some of the Indian graves quantities of red powder, which had a strong but not offensive odor and was manifestly employed for purposes of embalming. Perhaps, indeed, this is the earliest reference now known to the so-called "Red-Paint People," to whom Mr. Warren K. Moorehead of Andover has paid so much attention in recent years.⁹ It would be of considerable value if we could learn whether the occupants of such graves came originally from Maine. Bradford's suggestion that the red powder was used for embalming is of interest, since it readily explains one feature of the so-called Indian Red-Paint burials in Maine which hitherto, I fancy, has not been understood. Some other important characteristics of Indian burials also are given in this narrative which, I believe, may help us to explain certain hitherto puzzling remains of the so-called Mound Builders.

A RELATION OR IOVRNALL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
PLANTATION SETLED AT *Plimoth* IN NEW ENGLAND ¹⁰

Wednesday, the sixt of *September*, the Wind comming East North East, a fine small gale, we loosed from *Plimoth* [England], hauing beene kindly intertained and curteously vsed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boysterous stormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of *November* following, by breake of the day, we espied land which we deemed to be *Cape Cod*, and so

others. | With their difficult passage, their safe ariual, their | ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them- | selues in the now well defended Towne | of NEW PLI-MOTH. | . . . London, 1622, 4°.

There is evidence in the work as printed to show that Winslow's letters were written in the secretarial hand of the period. Various misreadings by the compositor make this point clear. A statement in Robert Cushman's preface suggests that Bradford may have inserted in his narrative reports by others of certain events, not witnessed by himself.

⁹ See his writings entitled *The Red-Paint People of Maine*, 1913; *The Problem of the Red-Paint People*, Washington, 1916; and *Prehistoric Cultures in the State of Maine*, Washington, D.C., 1917.

¹⁰ The punctuation and capitalization of the citations, for convenience in reading, have been to some extent normalized.

afterward it proued. And the appearance of it much comforted vs; especially seeing so goodly a Land and woodded to the brinke of the sea, it caused vs to reioyce together and praise God that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West, purposing to goe to a Riuer ten leagues to the South of the Cape [i.e., the Hudson River]; but at night the winde being contrary we put round againe for the Bay of *Cape Cod*, and vpon the 2 of *November* we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land, compassed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Sassafras, and other sweet wood. It is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride. There we relieued our selues with wood and water and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the Bay to search for an habitation. There was the greatest store of fowle that ever we saw.

And euery day we saw Whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if we had [had] instruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great grieve we wanted. Our master and his mate and others experienced in fishing professed we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle. They preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing & purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here. For Cod we assayed but found none; there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there but some few little ones on the shore. We found great Mussles and very fat and full of Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers. . . . The bay is so round & circling, that before we could come to anchor we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow-shoot or two in going a-land which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather. . . .

The same day, so soon as we could, we set a-shore 15 or 16 men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left, as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of Land; on this side where we lay is the *Bay*, and [on] the further side the Sea; the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better; the crust of the earth a Spits depth excellent blacke earth, all woodded with Okes, Pines, Sassafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; the wood for the most part open and without vnder-wood,

fit either to goe [on foot] or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any person nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which smelled very sweet & strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there. . . .¹¹ When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee were (as we had direction), and so marched on towards this supposed River; and as we went in another valley we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad and twice as long. There grew also many small vines, and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Sasafras. From thence we went on & found much plaine ground, about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the *Indians* had formerly planted their corne. After this . . . we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a wooden thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof. We musing what it might be digged & found a Bow, and as we thought Arrowes, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things [there], but because we deemed them graues,¹² we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines. Passing thus a field or two which were not great, we came to another which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had beene and foure or fiue old Plankes layed together; also we found a great Kettle which had beene some Ships kettle and brought out of *Europe*; there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done. We might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further & found a fine new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36 goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight. The Basket was round and narrow at the top. It held about three or foure Bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst wee were busie about

¹¹ Pp. 1-4.

¹² Dr. Dexter thinks these graves were "somewhere in what is now the village of Great Hollow."

these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged vp the corne. We were in suspence what to do with it and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation we concluded to take the Kettle and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs, and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, . . . we would giue them the Kettle againe and satisfie them for their Corne. So we tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by some Christians, . . . so we returned leaving the farther discovery . . . and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire and a Baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, euery one standing when his turne came, while five or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proved a very rainie night. . . . In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high about the creak, where we saw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them! Wee also did spring three couple of Partridges, and as we came along by the creak, wee saw great flocks of wild Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water vp to the knees, till at length we came neare the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs. . . . This was our first Discovery . . . but the discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from, the shore but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the midle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; some did it necessarily and some for their owne pleasure, but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather prouing sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed.¹³

When our Shallop was fit . . . there was appointed some 24 men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the rivers [Pamet River and its three branches] before mentioned. Master *Iones* was desirous to goe with vs. . . . Wee made master *Iones* our Leader. . . . When we were set forth, it proued rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the

¹³ Pp. 5-8.

Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the nearest shore the wind would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees. The wind was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night. . . . It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and frose withall; some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about 11 a-clocke . . . we sayled to the river . . . which we named *Cold Harbour*. . . . We landed our men betweene the two creekes . . . and our Shallop followed vs. At length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills and deepe vallies which lay halfe a foot thicke with snow. Master *Iones* wearied with marching was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out wee got three fat Geese and six Ducks to our Supper, which we eate [=ate] with Souldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day. . . . In the morning . . . we turned towards the other creeke, that wee might goe over and looke for the rest of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before. When we came to the creeke, we saw the Canow lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of Geese in the river, at which one made a shot and killed a couple of them, and we lanced the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, she carryed vs over by seaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had [found] the corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill*, and digged and found more corne, viz., two or three Baskets full of *Indian Wheat* [= Corn] and a bag of Beanes with a good many of faire Wheat-eares.¹⁴ Whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for seed. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we should haue done. . . . Also we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Iourney, for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Toolles. . . .

The next morning we followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts [= tracks] of the *Indians* into the Woods, supposing they would haue led vs into some Towne, or houses. After wee had gone a while, we light [= came] vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two

¹⁴ That is, a good many faire eares of Corn.

foote broad, when we lighted all our Matches, and prepared our selues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in when the *Indians* hunt, as wee supposed. When we had marched fīue or six myles into the Woods and could find no signes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as [= so that] we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp; where we found first a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters [of a yard] long finely carued and paynted, with three tynes or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Traves, Dishes, and such like Trinkets. At length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse. We opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The Skull had fine yellow haire still on it and some of the flesh vnconsumed. There was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Casacke and a payre of cloth breeches. The red Powder was a kind of Embaulment and yeelded a strong but no offensiue smell. It was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found [some] of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe. About the leggs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters [of a yard] long and some other odd [nic]knacks. We brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs and covered the Corps vp againe. After this we digged in sundry like places but found no more Corne nor any things els but graues. There was varietie of opinions amongst vs about the embalmed person. Some thought it was an *Indian* Lord and King. Others sayd, The *Indians* haue all blacke hayre, and never any was seene with browne or yellow hayre. Some thought it was a Christian of some speciall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him. Others thought they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him. . . .¹⁵

Others againe vrged greatly the going to *Anguūm* or *Angoum*,¹⁶ a place twentie leagues off to the Northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships [with] better ground and better

¹⁵ Pp. 9–12.

¹⁶ Hitherto Angoum or Anguūm has been interpreted to mean Ipswich, but Ipswich can hardly be said to have an excellent harbor for ships. Furthermore, it now becomes

fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better seate, and it should be a great hindrance to seate [= settle] where wee should remoue againe. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched vp a steepe hill; but to omit many reasons and replies vsed heere abouts, it was in the ende concluded to make some discovery within the Bay, but in no case so farre [north] as *Angoum*. Besides, *Robert Coppin* our Pilot, made relation of a great Navigable River and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay, almost right over against *Cape Cod*, being a right line, not much aboute eight leagues distant, in which hee had beene once. . . .¹⁷ The narration of which Discovery followes, penned by one of the Company.

Wednesday, the sixt of December, we set out, [it] being very cold and hard weather. Wee were a long while after we launched from the ship before we could get cleare of a sandie poynt, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time two were very sicke, and *Edward Tilley* had like to haue sounded [= swooned] with cold; the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death . . . and so remained all that day, and the next night. At length we got cleare of the sandy poynt and got vp our sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron. Wee sayled sixe or seaven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke. At length wee mett with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shore with a sandy poynt. We bore vp to gaine the poynt & found there a fayre income or rode of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs, and left the discovery of this *Income* till the next day. . . . In the morning . . . we found it onely to be a Bay without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as *Cape Cod*, for they that sounded it found a ship might ride [there] in fieve fathom water. Wee on the land found it to be a levill soyle, but none of the fruitfullest; wee saw two beekes [= brooks] of fresh water, which were the first running streames that we saw in the Country, but one might stride over them; we found also a great fish called a *Grampus* dead on the sands. They in the Shallop

manifest from the recently discovered letters of John Pory, that Angoum or Anguam does not stand for Agawam at all, but for "Anquam, scituate within Cape Anna, aboute 40 leagues from Plimouth," evidently now known as Annisquam.

¹⁷ P. 14.

found two of them also in the bottome of the bay, dead in like sort. They were cast vp at high water and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some fīue or sixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleshed like a Swine. They would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it. . . . We then directed our course along the Sea-sands, to the place where we first saw the *Indians* when we were there. We saw it was also a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp; they cut it into long rands or peeces about an ell long and two handfull broad; wee found here and there a peece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for hast. This place the most were minded we should call the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there. Wee followed the tract [= track] of the *Indians* bare feete a good way on the sands; at length we saw where they strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond [Great Pond] . . . so we light [came] on a path, but saw no house, and followed [the path] a great way into the woods;¹⁸ at length wee found where Corne had beene set, but not that yeare. Anone [= Anon] we found a great burying place, one part whereof was in-compassed with a large Palazado like a Church-yard, with yong spires [= saplings] foure or fīue yards long set so close one by another as they could [be], two or three foot in the ground. Within, it was full of Graues, some bigger and some lesse, some were also paled about, & others had like an *Indian*-house made over them, but not matted. Those Graues were more sumptuous then those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them and went our way. Without the Palazado were graues also, but not so costly. From this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged, we light [came] on foure or fīue *Indian*-houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but they were vncovered and had no matts about them, els they were like those we found at *Corne-hill*, but had not beene so lately dwelt in. There was nothing left but two or three peeces of old matts [and] a little sedge. Also a little further [on] we found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had beene Corne, when we beganne to dig the same. We cast earth thereon againe & went our way.”¹⁹

With this account of an Indian burying ground we may compare the description given by Edward Winslow of the house and burial-place of the Indian king, Nanepashemet.

¹⁸ Dr. H. M. Dexter (*Mourt's Relation*, Boston, 1865, note 175) suggests “in the direction of Enoch's Rock and Nauset light.”

¹⁹ Pp. 15–18.

It is to be noted that the house was situated on the top of a hill or mound, as was probably the case likewise with the houses of the kings of the Mound Builders in the Mississippi valley. Nanepashemet, we are told, was buried within a circular earthwork forty or fifty feet in diameter, having a trench breast-high both on the inside and on the outside. The enclosure was surrounded by a strong palisade of poles thirty or forty feet long sunk firmly in the ground as close to each other as possible. The only approach to the enclosure was a bridge, and in the centre of the palisado stood the frame of an Indian house, beneath which the king was buried. Had the country not been invaded by European settlers, and had there been time for the last resting-place of the king to become venerated, a mound might later on perhaps have been heaped above the house, and then the fortification would have strikingly resembled some of the mounds in the Mississippi Valley:

"On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Hauing gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence [? near Medford], *Nanepashemet* their King in his life-time had liued. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built with pools [= poles] and plancks some six foote from [the] ground, and the house vpon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome [? now near Mystic Pond, Medford,] wee came to a Fort built by their deceased King, the manner thus: There were pools [= poles] some thirtie or fortie foote long stucke in the ground as thicke as they could be set one by another, and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breast high was digged on each side. One way there was to goe into it with a bridge. In the midst of this Pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buried.

About a myle from hence, we came to such another [? house], but seated on the top of an hill. Here *Nanepashemet* was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death.²⁰

²⁰ A Relation, 1622, p. 58 (in the second so-called Relation which was not written by Bradford but which consists of several sections probably for the most part written

II. THE EARLIEST DESCRIPTION OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION AND AN ACCOUNT OF ITS GRADUAL FORTIFICATION

The following descriptions of Plymouth (formerly Patuxet) by Bradford and by Winslow respectively may very fittingly be compared with Pory's similar description of 1622.

[Bradford]

"On the fifteenth day we waighed Anchor to goe to the place we had discovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome againe towards *Cape Cod*, our course lying West; and the wind was at North west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday, the 16 day [of December, 1620], the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came safely into a safe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, so as [= so that] if we had beene letted [= hindered] but a little, we had gone backe to *Cape Cod*. This Harbour is a Bay greater then *Cape Cod*, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay 2 fine Islands vninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood — Okes, Pines, Walnut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other trees which wee know not. This Bay is a most hopefull place, [containing] innumerable store of fowle, and excellent good, and [there] cannot but bee [an abundance] of fish in their seasons — Skate, Cod, Turbot, and Herring. Wee haue tasted of abundance of Musles, the greatest & best that ever we saw, Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a Cikle [= sickle] or Fish-hooke.

Monday, the 18 day [of December], we went a-land, manned with the Maister of the Ship and 3 or 4 of the Saylers. We marched along the coast in the woods, some 7 or 8 mile, but saw not an *Indian* nor an *Indian*-house, only we found where formerly had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne. We found not

by Winslow). In this connection we will add the following instructive passage from Winslow's *Good Newes*, p. 58, which shows how the sachems were buried:

"When they bury the dead, they sow vp the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the party bee a *Sachim*, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the graue with a pale. If it bee a childe, the father will also put his owne most speciall iewels and ornaments in the earth with it. . . . If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull downe the mattes and leaue the frame standing, and burie them in or neere the same, and either remoue their dwelling or giue ouer house-keeping."

any Navigable River, but 4 or 5 small running brookes of very sweet fresh water that all run into the Sea. The land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth excellent blacke mold and fat in some places. [There are] 2 or 3 great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts, Beech, Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp[en?], Sasifras in abundance, & Vines euerywhere, Cherry trees, Plum-trees, and many other which we know not. Most kinds of hearbes we found heere in Winter as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, Yarow, Caruell, Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-cresses, great store of Leekes and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe. Here is sand, gravell, and excellent clay (no better in the Worlde), [which is] excellent for pots and will wash like sope, and great store of stone though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever wee drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fish. That night many being weary with marching, wee went aboutd againe.”²¹

[Winslow]

“[As] for the temper of the ayre here, it agreeth well with that in *England*, and if there be any difference at all, this [country] is somewhat hotter in Summer. Some thinke it to be colder in Winter, but I cannot out of experience so say. The ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beene reported. I neuer in my life remember a more seasonable yeare then we haue here enioyed, and if we haue once but Kine, Horses, and Sheepe, I make no question but men might liue as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowle, we haue great abundance; fresh Codd in the Summer is but course meat with vs. Our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of other Fish. In September we can take a Hogshead of Eeles in a night with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds all the Winter. We haue Mussells and Clams²² at our doores. Oysters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the *Indians* when we will; all the Spring time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs; here are Grapes, white and red, and very sweete and strong also, Strawberies, Gooseberies, Raspas, &c., Plums of three sorts, with blacke and red, being almost as good as a Damsen; abundance of Roses, white, red, and damask, single, but very sweet indeed. The Countrey wanteth onely industrious men to imploy, for it would grieue your hearts (if as I) you had seene so

²¹ Bradford, *Relation*, pp. 21–22.

²² Printed text, “Othus.” Dr. Dexter suggested the reading, clams, as is certainly correct. This part of the MS., therefore was manifestly written in the secretarial or decadent Court Hand of the period, which was in this case misread by the compositor.

many myles together by goodly Riuers vninhabited, and withall to consider those parts of the world wherein you lue to be euen greatly burthened with abundance of people.”²³

The Pilgrims planned their settlement with great speed when once they had chosen a suitable site. And haste was necessary, for it was already almost Christmas time, and they were faced by the rigors of a New England winter. By combining these first accounts of Plymouth we may obtain an excellent idea of the appearance and life of the little colony in its earliest days, and various interesting details concerning its defense and enlargement during the first two decades of its history:

“That night [December 19–29] we returned againe a-ship-board, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places; so in the morning [of December 20–30], after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to goe presently ashore againe and to take a better view of two places which wee thought most fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our Beere, and it being now the 19 of *December*. After our landing and viewing of the place so well as we could, we came to a conclusion by most voyces, [namely,] to set[tle] on the maine Land on the first place,²⁴ on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and [where] there is a very sweet brooke [i.e., Town Brooke] [which] runnes vnder the hillside, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this brooke much good fish in their seasons. On the further side of the river also much Corne ground [has been] cleared; in one field is a great hill [i.e., Burial Hill], on which wee poynt to make a platforme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the *Bay*, and farre into the Sea, and we may see thence *Cape Cod*. Our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an English myle [distant], but there is enough so farre off. What people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue seene none, so

²³ Relation, p. 58 (second Relation, written not by Bradford but evidently by Winslow).

²⁴ That is, Patuxet or Plymouth.

there we made our Randevous and a place for some of our people, about twentie resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses. . . .²⁵

Thursday the 28 of *December* [or January 7, 1620–21], so many as could went to worke on the hill where we purposed to build our plat-forme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine and the *Bay*, and from whence we may see farre into the sea, and [which] might be easier impayled, having two rowes of houses and a faire streete. So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and first we tooke notice how many Families they were, willing all single men that had no wiues to ioine with some Familie as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to 19 Families. To greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length, and so Lots were cast where euery man should lie, which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at first for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at Cape *Cod* had brought much weakenes amongst vs, and after[wards] was the cause of many of their deaths.²⁶

Tuesday, the 9 [or 19] January [1620–21], was a reasonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne in two rowes of houses for more safety. We devided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne. After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course men would make more hast[e] then working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our Randevous, being neere finished wanted onely couering, it being about 20 foote square. Some should make mortar and some gather thatch, so that in four days halfe of it was thatched. Frost and foule weather hindred vs much; this time of the yeare seldome could wee worke halfe the weeke.²⁷

Munday, the 22 [January or February 1], was a faire day. We wrought on our houses, and in the after-noone carried vp our hogs-heads of meale to our common store-house.²⁸ Saturday, the 17 [or 27] day [of February], in the morning we called a meeting for the establishing of military Orders amongst our selues, and we chose *Miles Standish* our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres; and as we were in consultation here abouts, two Savages

²⁵ Bradford, *Relation*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

presented themselves vpon the top of an hill over against our Plantation about a quarter of a myle and lesse [distant]. . . . This caused vs to plant our great Ordinances in places most convenient. Wednesday, the 21 [or 31] of *February*, the master came on shore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a *Minion*, and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with another Peece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller [= saker] and two bases. Saturday, the third [or thirteenth] of *March*, the wind was South, the morning mistie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather. The Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the first wee heard in that Countrey. It was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight. Wednesday, the seauenth [or seventeenth] of *March*, the wind was full East, cold, but faire. That day Master *Carver* with fiae other[s] went to the great Ponds, which seeme to be excellent fishing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they saw none. Amongst other foule, they saw one, a milk white foule, with a very blacke head. This day some garden seede were sown.²⁹

Referring you for further satisfaction to our more large Relations (of which the greater part of this book is composed), you shall vnderstand that in this little time that a few of vs haue beene here, we haue built seauen dwelling houses, and foure for the [common] vse of the Plantation, and haue made preparation for diuers others. We set the last Spring [1621] some twentie Acres of *Indian Corne* and sowed some six Acres of Barly & Pease, and according to the manner of the *Indians* we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds [*i.e.*, alewives], which we haue in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doores. Our Corne did proue well, & God be prayed, we had a good increase of *Indian-Corne*, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Pease [were] not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sowne. They came vp very well and blossomed, but the Sunne parched them in the blossome. Our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours. They foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beside served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations we exercised our Armes, many of the *Indians* coming amongst vs, and amongst the rest their greatest King *Massasoyt*, with some ninetie men, whom

²⁹ Bradford, Relation, pp. 31, 32.

for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and bestowed on our Governour, and vpon the Captaine, and others. . . . Wee haue found the *Indians* very faithfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleasure vs. We often goe to them, and they come to vs; some of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them. . . . They are a people . . . very trustie, quicke of apprehension, ripe witted, iust. The men and women goe naked [with] onely a skin about their middles.”³⁰

Apparently it was only gradually that a sense of insecurity became keenly felt by the Pilgrims, for it was not until February, 1621–22, that the little plantation was impaled and fortified, while the fort was not made fit for service until March 25, 1623. On that day a watch was first kept:

“In the meane time, knowing our owne weaknesse, notwithstanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them [the Indians], and still lying open to all casualty, hauing as yet (vnder God) no other defence than our Armes, wee thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all our expedition wee accomplished in the moneth of February [1621–2] and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill vnder which our Towne is seated, making foure bulwarkes or ietties without the ordinarie circuit of the pale, from whence wee could defend the whole Towne; in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. . . .”³¹

Now [*i.e.*, March 25, 1623] was our Fort made fit for service and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke, it being ten moneths since it [was] begun, yet wee must note that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring [it] to perfection. . . . Thus was our Fort hanselled, this being the first day as I take it that euer any watch was there kept.”³²

Captain John Smith gives the following singularly complete though brief, description of Plymouth in 1624:³³

“In this Plantation [of New-Plimouth] there is about an hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry.

³⁰ Relation, pp. 60, 61 (section by Edward Winslow).

³¹ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes*, 1624, p. 4.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40.

³³ *Advertisements*, London, 1631, pp. 18, 19.

Their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile,³⁴ within which a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three years; yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth* for want of good take heed, . . . [they] spent six or seven weekes in wandring up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks, and swamps, forty of them died, and three-score were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth*, where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed, whose misery and variable opinions, for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them."

As the settlement of the colony became better established, the inhabitants naturally, for their own convenience, began to occupy new land and to build new houses, so that apparently even as early as 1636 some of the families owned more than one house, as the following passage shows:

"And whereas some gather the ground [of New England] to be naught, and soone out of heart, because *Plimouth* men³⁵ remove from their old habitations, I answer, they do no more remove from their habitation, than the Citizen which hath one house in the Citie and another in the Countrey, for his pleasure, health and profit. For although they have taken new plots of ground, and build houses upon them, yet doe they retaine their old houses still, and repaire to them every Sabbath day; neither doe they esteeme their old lots worse than when they first tooke them. What if they doe not plant on them every yeare? I hope it is no ill husbandry to rest the land, nor is alwayes that the worst that lies sometimes fallow. . . . This ground is in some places of a soft mould, and easie to plow; in other places so tough and hard, that I have seen ten Oxen toyled, their Iron chaines broken, and their Shares and Coulters much strained; but after the first breaking up it is so easie, that two Oxen and a Horse may plow it; there hath as good *English* Corne growne there, as could be desired; especially Rie and Oates and Barly; there hath been no great triall as yet of Wheate, and Beanes.³⁶

³⁴ John Pory says that the palisade about the plantation in 1622 was "2700 foote in compasse" (John Pory's Lost Description, 1918, p. 42).

³⁵ Text, *meu*. ³⁶ William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, London, 1636, p. 11.

III. THE PILGRIMS AND THE INDIANS

During their first years in America the Pilgrims were more troubled by a shortage of food supplies than by the Indians. Indeed, the Pilgrims were not much disturbed by them until the spring of 1621, when they began to receive visits like the following. These descriptions seem to us of importance, since they show that the Indians known to the Pilgrim Fathers must have dressed and painted themselves in a manner very similar to that practised by the Aztecs in Mexico, whose surviving manuscripts in brilliant colors still preserve for us their general appearance and dress, together with some of their peculiar customs. Conversely, our partial understanding of the significance of the dress and of the colors of paint employed by the Aztecs suggests the possibility, if indeed not the probability, of a similar or even identical meaning for the same dress and the same colors of paint as used among the Indians:³⁷

"Thursday, the 22 of *March*, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met again about our publike businesse, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but *Samoset* came againe, and *Squanto* [= *Tisquantum*], the onely natiue of *Patuxat*, where we now inhabite, . . . with three others, and they brought with them some few skinner to trucke, and some red Herings newly taken and dried but not salted, and signified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore *Masasoit* was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over against vs, and had in his trayne sixtie men, [so] that wee could well behold them, and they vs. We were not willing to send our governour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, so *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winsloe*, to know his mind,

³⁷ One may most conveniently consult the so-called Codex Nuttall for comparison. Here, together with an excellent facsimile of the codex, one finds discriminating suggestions by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall upon the significance of dress and colors among the Aztecs.

and to signifie the mind and will of our governour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We sent to the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with a Iewell at it. To *Quadequina* we sent likewise a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted. Our Messenger made a speech vnto him, [saying] that King IAMES saluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Governour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunke himselfe and giuen the rest to his company, he looked vpon our messengers sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our messenger shewed his vnwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came over the brooke, and some twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept six or seaven as hostages for our messenger. Captaine *Standish* and master *Williamson* met the King at the brooke with halfe a dozen Musketiers. They saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cushions. Then instantly came our Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and some few Musketiers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the King kissed him, and so they sat downe. The Governour called for some strong water and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after. He called for a little fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, . . . all which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the Governour he trembled for feare. In his person he is a very lustie man, in his best yeares, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech. In his Attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about hie necke, and at it behinde his necke hangs a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke [*i.e.*, smoked] and gave vs to drinke. His face was paynted with a sad red like murry, and [he was] oyled both head and face, [so] that hee looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces in part or in whole painted — some blacke, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses and other Antick workes, some had skins on them,

and some [were] naked, all strong, all men in appearance. So after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed. We diligently keeping our hostages, . . . expected our messengers comming, but anon word was brought vs, that *Quaddequina* was comming, and our messenger was stayed till his returne, who presently came and a troupe with him. So likewise wee entertained him, and conuayed him to the place prepared. He was very fearefull of our peeeces, and made signes of dislike, that they should be carried away. Whereupon Commandement was given [that] they should be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemely countenance, and he did kindly like of our entertainment. So we conuayed him likewise as wee did the King. . . . When hee was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. . . . One thing I³⁸ forgot. The King had in his bosome hanging in a string a great long knife. Hee marveled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. *Samoset* and *Squanto*, they stayed al night with vs, and the King and al his men lay all night in the woods not aboue halfe an English myle from vs, and all their wiues and women with them. They sayd that within 8 or 9 dayes they would come and set corne on the other side of the Brooke and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs.³⁹

Saturday and Sunday [March 17–27 and 18–28, 1621–22], reasonable fayre dayes. On this [Sun]day came againe the Savage, and brought with him fiue other tall proper men. They had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall [one] of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme. They had most of them long hosen vp to their groynes, close made; and aboue their groynes to their wast another leather. They were altogether like the *Irish* trousers. They are of complexion like our English Gipseys — no haire or very little on their faces; on their heads long haire to their shoulders, onely cut before, some trussed vp before with a feather broad wise like a fanne. . . . These left . . . their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne. . . . They made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amite; they song & danced after their maner . . . they brought with them in a thing like a Bowcase (which the principall [one] of them had about his wast) a little of their Corne pownded to Powder, which put to a little water they

³⁸ The word "I" suggests that one person wrote this narrative, and the word "Squanto," instead of *Tisquantum*, a line or two below indicates that that person was William Bradford.

³⁹ Bradford, *Relation*, pp. 35–38.

eat. He had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke [= smoked] but when he listed. Some of them had their faces paynted black from the forehead to the chin foure or five fingers broad; others after other fashion, as they liked.”⁴⁰

Winslow, who had been a printer in London, seems to have been known as a physician among the Indians and to have become rather better acquainted with them than the other colonists. His book, *Good Newes*, 1624, indeed, is very largely taken up with picturesque and entertaining accounts of the life of the Indians and of the Pilgrims’ experiences among them. The following incident may be cited here:

“After[ward] wee came to a Towne of *Massasoyts*, where we eat [= ate] Oysters and other fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*, but *Massasoyt* was not at home. There we stayed, he being sent for. . . . *Massasoyt* being come, wee discharged our Peeces and saluted him, who after their manner kindly well commend vs and tooke vs into his house and set vs downe by him, where having delivered our foresayd Message and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe and the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so brauely attyred. . . . This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs and fell to discoursing of *England* & of the Kings Maiestie, marvayling that he would liue without a wife. . . . Late it grew, but victualls he offered none, for indeed he had not any, [the reason] being [that] he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest. He layd vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being onely plancks layd a foot from the ground and a thin Mat vpon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs, so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our iourney.

The next day being Thursday many of their Sachims or petty Governours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for skins and kniues. There we challenged them to shoote with them for skins, but they durst not. . . . About one a-clocke *Massasoyt* brought two fishes that he had shot. They were like Breame but three times so bigge, and better

⁴⁰ Probably not as they liked, but according to their rank or standing in the tribe. Bradford, *Relation*, p. 34.

meate. These being boyled there were at le[a]st fortie [that] looked for [a] share in them [and] the most eate [= ate] of them. This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of vs b[r]ought a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney fasting. Very importunate he was to haue vs stay with them longer, but wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home, and feared we should . . . be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savage barbarous singing (for they vse to sing themselues asleepe), lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoos without, we could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there, we much fearing that if wee should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength, so that on the Fryday morning before Sun-rising we tooke our leaue and departed, *Massasoyt* being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertaîne vs.”⁴¹

One's interest is always aroused by the early statements concerning the primitive religion of the Indians. Winslow appears to have devoted some time to the subject. According to his later statements it would seem that they were familiar with the idea of one supreme God above all their minor gods, whom they called Kiehtan. Thomas Morton in his *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637) presents still further particulars as to the native religion, and by giving a different spelling for the name of this divinity, Kytan, makes its certain how it should be properly pronounced. According to his belief, the Indians were also familiar with the tradition of a flood, and were “perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits”:⁴²

“A few things I thought meet to adde hereunto which I haue obserued amongst the *Indians*, both touching their Religion and sundry other Customes amongst them. And first, whereas my selfe and others in former Lettres (which came to the Presse against my will and knowledge) wrote that the *Indians* about vs are a people without any Religion or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better, for as they conceiue of many

⁴¹ Relation, pp. 44–46 (section by Winslow).

⁴² By this last statement it might appear that the Indians worshipped the sun under this name; but Winslow says that no man had ever seen Kiehtan.

divine powers, so of one whom they call *Kiehtan* to be the principall and maker of all the rest and to be made by none. He (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein; also that he made one man and one woman of whom they and wee and all mankinde came; but how they became so farre dispersed, that know they not. At first they say, there was no *Sachim* or *King* but *Kiehtan* who dwelleth aboue in the Heavens, whither all good men goe when they die to see their friends and haue their fill of all things. This his habitation lyeth farre Westward in the heavens, they say. Thither the bad men goe also and knocke at his doore, but he bids them *Quatchet*, that is to say, Walke abroad, for there is no place for such, so that they wander in restles want and penury. Never man saw this *Kiehtan*; onely old men tell them of him and bid them tell their children, yea to charge them to teach their posterities the same and lay the like charge vpon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meete together and cry vnto him, and so likewise for plentie, victorie, &c., sing, daunce, feast, giue thankes, and hang vp Garlandes and other things in memorie of the same.⁴³ Although these Salvages are found to be without Religion, Law, and King (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed,) yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically) for they haue it amongst them by tradition, that God made one man and one woman, and bad them live together, and get children, kill deare, beasts, birds, fish, and fowle, and what they would at their pleasure; and that their posterity was full of evil, and made God so angry that hee let in the Sea upon them, & drowned the greatest part of them, that were naughty men (the Lord destroyed so.). And they went to Sanaconquam, who feeds upon them (pointing to the Center of the Earth, where they imagine is the habitation of the Devil); the other, which were not destroyed, increased the world; and when they died (because they were good) went to the howse of Kytan (pointing to the setting of the sonne), where they eate all manner of dainties, and never take paines (as now) to provide it.⁴⁴

Kytan makes provision (they say) and saves them that laboure, and there they shall live with him forever voyd of care. And they are perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits.

Many sacrifices the *Indians* vse, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little dis-

⁴³ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes*, pp. 52, 53.

⁴⁴ Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, Amsterdam, 1637, pp. 45-50.

tance and grow more and more cold in their worship to *Kiehtan*; saying in their memory hee was much more called vpon. The *Nanohiggansets* [= Narragansetts] excede in their blinde devotion and haue a great spacious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may tearme them Priests) come. Thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people and offer almost all the riches they haue to their gods, as kettles, skinner, hatchets, beads, kniues, &c., all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house and there consumed to ashes. To this offering euery man bringeth freely, and the more hee is knowne to bring hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other Indians about vs approue of as good and wish their *Sachims* would appoint the like.”⁴⁵

The fact that the Indians, like the Aztecs, sometimes sacrificed human beings suggests that their traditions must have descended to them from a very remote period.⁴⁶ The account of the “spacious house” mentioned in the last passage, wherein the priests of the Narragansetts were accustomed to build a great fire, into which the people cast at certain times as offerings of sacrifice their kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, etc., reminds one also of the charred and broken remains of similar articles found in recent years beneath certain of the Ohio mounds constructed by the so-called Mound Builders.

Here we may conclude our study of these early accounts of Plymouth Plantation. Other points, indeed, relating both to the Pilgrims and to the Indians might be discussed, but I shall be satisfied if this paper shall once more call attention to, and stimulate interest in, the valuable archæological information contained in these narratives, and the desirability of undertaking further archæological investigations, before it is absolutely too late, in the neighborhood of Plymouth and upon Cape Cod.

⁴⁵ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes*, p. 55.

⁴⁶ One is reminded of the frequent references by classical authors to the fact that Kronos or Saturn, the reputed father of Zeus or Jupiter, ruled in the West; and that he is said to have required human sacrifices in his worship.